342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 554 622 [184 541] A chief's house was usually larger than the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. remembers Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of patrilocal residence customary with the lake people (but not with those of the foothills).

343 The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

22 262 [825] The subsistence of the tular region was composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits, and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats (č·mčm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

● [231] [184] The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed to the Chumut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

616 distantly related called each other yoko´čn·m (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noči´n·m (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta'a´tin·m (relatives, or "my own folks"). It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma´kši) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

616 796 Redemption of totem animal.-- The rite of making a payment for a totemic animal was called siwa´lun·ts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took [231 184] it back to the foothills for burial; if alive, it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never kept and reared as in the foothills.

A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the [178] coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its hide being kept as a talisman.

Bears were not redeemed.

[231] Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray.

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

> The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 49d] Tulamni

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very large squares, the families divided from each
361 other, and outside they have very large houses in the form of hemispheres where they keep their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.---A metatelike stone mortar, "jars of the same material" (probably steatite vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned. Skins were used for bedding.

Foods.---Pages speaks at length of the
262 animal and vegetable foods available, and, like
136 all early travelers in the region, dwells on their abundance. Of water birds he mentions white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes, and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse, "multitudes of quail ... more savory than those of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wildcats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes"; in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers [cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are men-
137 tioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns, which were prepared by the usual processes of drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots were made into flour, and the blossoms into a yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink, somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

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825
192

4. ṭu'h:t: eagle
u'w:k: golden eagle
ṭa'nka: buzzard
No comment.

5. pi'tu: mouse
tumatu'mud: woodrat
sañsañwide''it: tree squirrel
aha''ot: weasel
po''hot: ground squirrel
ha'nhut: gopher

The informant became much confused as the burden of grouping and identifying was a task beyond her meager English vocabulary, and one wherein I dared not assist by evocative questioning.

In connection with hunting J.P. said, "there were five animals just like deer":

6. šo'koi: elk
soi'yod: "a goat with straight horns," belonged in the valley
duwe's:p: mountain sheep; belonged in the mountains
wo'kono: antelope, especially in Antelope Valley
hoi: deer

Totemic Animals

825 The person and his totemic animal.--The relation between individuals and their poša (inherited totem animal) involved three major practices. The first, to which all poša'm (the persons possessing the totem) adhered, was the tabu on killing, even more on eating, the animal. The second was keeping the animal as a pet. And the third was the redemption of the animal by ceremonial payment to its killer or captor. All three practices interlocked in actuality. Thus, a person eating eagle flesh would be paid a small sum by the chief: this honored the eagle, and may be viewed as an extension of the more elaborate redemption of the entire bird. While a non-totemic pet was sometimes kept (i.e., an animal which was not the poša of its owner), pets more frequently were totemic, and often were acquired as such "because they [the owners] didn't like to see somebody eating them" and would buy them from the would-be consumer.[234] After the redemption of a live eagle it would be kept for some time before being freed.

[231]

231 Pets.--Respecting pets, M.L. offered the following:

Eagles were kept as pets only by a chief or immediate male member of his family. Other persons might do so, knowing that the pet eventually would be bought by the chief. "He didn't like seeing other people having them.

[234] This is doubtless a rationalization. That is, the polsam probably wanted a specimen of his poša as a pet and took this opportune way of acquiring one. Obviously he could not corner the market on doves, crows, etc.

231 Eagle is chief [spiritual] and he belonged to the chief [actual]." The chief would send out his winatum to buy any eagles he heard of. Since most eyries were known, and traditionally owned and inherited by chiefly lineages, it was not easy or usual for an ordinary person to come by one of these birds.

"Eagles were never kept as pets" is a curious statement of S.G. He likewise denied all knowledge of the redemption ceremony.

Doves might be kept as pets by anyone. But winatums "did not like to have them killed, and would buy them from other people and let them go." A male cousin of M.L.'s would not kill a dove, nor would he even allow his sister to keep them as pets.

Bear, as poša, included bears of all kinds, "red," "black," and grizzly. The paternal lineage of M.L. was a Bear lineage, so no one in her family, including her mother, would kill or touch the meat of this animal. M.L. ate [262] deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish, but she did not eat or taste bear meat or any food that might have come in contact with bear grease. Once she cooked some bear meat in ignorance. Her [first] husband ate some, and vomited directly they went outside the house [where they were visiting] and saw the skin.[235] This man's father raised cubs as pets, which may have some bearing on his son's tabu on bear meat.

Rattlesnake was the family totem of M.L.'s mother. A maternal uncle participated in the Snake Ritual. For this reason M.L. "did not like to see snakes killed either." Her sister's husband also was a snake-handler. However, no instance of snakes being kept as pets is known: snakes used ritually were returned to their dens.

Young crows and ravens[236] were favorite pets. M.L. once had one when she was a girl. It was a nuisance, continually stealing not only food but basketry materials from other people. A quarrel ensued, so her father's brother took the bird several miles up the Kaweah River and left it. The feathers of these pet birds were never plucked for use in ornaments, she said.

Quail was a dream helper of M.L. However, she gave another reason for not eating them, [773 825] which was believed by many young girls. It was thought that, if a girl ate quail, when her hair grew long quail might come to nest in it and break and tangle it.

Cougar (wahu'š:t) and mountain coyote (?) (iwey:t, "wolf"), were never eaten by any Wuk-

[235] It appears that the man had assumed this poša, either because of his marriage to M.L., or because it was a dream acquisition: his was a chiefly lineage. M.L.'s second husband, half-brother to the first, ate "no meat except a bit of salt pork now and then."

[236] These were not identified. M.L. gave the first as a'duw:ts, who said "'ah 'ah 'ah," and the second as ko'widai, who said "ko' ko' ko'."

[P. 100b] Wukchumni

231 chumni people. Fox (adja) and wildcat (tunad) "may have been somebody's poša," but M.L. could not connect them with any known family. She did not know whether the Waksachi had totemic animals or not, but claimed that Gawia, Telamni, and "everybody down this way" had them. The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod chiefs all had Eagle as their family animal; M.L. was uncertain if this held for the Tachi.

825 782 432 Redemption of totem animal.---When eagles, bears, or coyotes were killed it was necessary that a propitiatory ceremony be held to ensure the continued good will of the animals. There was an ill-defined but firm belief that all animals existed "somewhere," that any member of the species that was killed returned to this supernatural place and reported on the treatment which it had received when killed. Should an unfavorable report be made, ill would betide the killer, and the animals would no longer permit themselves to be victims of human hunters. This was the basis of all hunting formulae. The deer, however, was not totemic, and its propitiation was only the duty of the hunter. But eagles, bears, and coyotes were totems and it was the function of the lineages for which they were symbols to redeem them from their killers. These animals were feared not only for their physical prowess but for their supernatural powers.

825 782 J.P. described the ritual for bears and eagles.

539 432 If a man killed a bear, he would take it to a man who had Bear for poša. If the animal had been killed close by, the whole carcass would be carried to the Bear man's home. Usually it was far away, so the hunter just cut off the bear's feet and put them in a basket. Then he took this, some other baskets, and a blanket and went to the Bear man's home. The blanket was laid down before the door; the basket containing the feet was placed in the center and the other baskets ranged behind it.

The house chosen was that of the head of the Bear lineage who was usually the oldest Bear man and a Bear dancer. He sent a winatum to gather other members of the Bear lineage. When they saw what was there, "they went and got food, money, and baskets and traded with the hunter for the bear's feet and other things with it." The head Bear man go the feet and used the claws for a necklace. When the skin was brought he would buy that too. The skin included the head but not the skull. The skin would be tanned for use either as a blanket or for the Bear Dance costume. "It had the hair and ears left on and sure looked pretty!" While he was buying these things the Bear man "talked to the bear: he told it to be good, not to run after anyone, nor to kill people." Sometimes the other people cried while he was doing this.

825 782 432 It was incumbent upon the Bear people to redeem their poša. "The buyer would get broke while the hunter made lots of money." Then the hunter's people would have a big feast, for

524 were called: ča´pai (tray); ho´wič (dice made of nut shells); ča´kat (pine-pitch filling of dice); čune´ti (abalone shell fragments set in pitch). She gave the count as: three face down, 1; two up, 2; all up or all down, 4. Twelve counters (wič:´l) were held by a score-keeper; all must be obtained to win. This was the method of play at Maštinao [A.M. was Wuk-chumni by birth].

Hand game.--A.M. said she had seen the hand game (hena´oša) played by the Entimbich at Dunlap when she was a little girl. She knew nothing about it save that "Coyote and Eagle used to play it all the time."

MOIETIES

616 The Chukaimina were divided into moieties named Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. Their activities were reciprocal at mourning ceremonies during the washing rite and in playing games. However, they were subordinate to the tribal division which constituted the major reciprocal unit.

616 Totem animals which were individually, not collectively, symbolic of patrilineal lineages,
825 were divided by moiety as follows, according to Mo:

Tokelyuwich:

to´h:l: eagle
ǒ´lǒ´l: roadrunner
to´nol: wildcat (tukob:č, Western Mono)
ţuna´o: badger
ti´či: raccoon
su´hup: chicken hawk (su´pa, Western Mono)
wih: š:t: cougar (tuwa´wiya, Western Mono)

Nutuwich:

l:m:k: falcon
hots: buzzard (wi´ho, Western Mono)
kai´yu: coyote (hu´'ušu [sic], Western Mono)
nahǒ´'ǒ: bear (bi´ow:ši [sic], Western Mono)
he´wi: dove (Western Mono)
ţe´'el: rattlesnake
hutu´lu: owl

[582] All informants insisted that persons of the same totem animal (hence of the same moiety) could marry. No specific cases pro or con could be recalled, however. A man with Eagle totem was always chief; all his family were called ti´ya.

Redemption of Totem Animals

231 Mo. said that her paternal grandmother,
625 who was of the Nutuwich moiety after marriage, raised an eagle. Her son, Mo.'s father, hunted

231 825 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about L:m:k [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 649 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´'1), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni ˜a); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were [552] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

Redemption of totem animals.--When an 616 eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people 825 put in some money to pay for it. The feathers were removed. A shaman kept the head, which 237 he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

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825 A Nutuwich man, Či´p:t, the paternal grand- [231] father of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´h:p (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čip:t received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear- [301] killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

23 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´y:l) was kept in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[171] [62] Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

231 other old man." Its new owner caught salmon and squirrels for it. He would put a piece of meat on the end of a stick, and the falcon would fly down, sit on the stick and eat the meat. The bird cried out when it was hungry.

E.M. recalls that her father (Nutuwich) kept a white owl for a pet. The children were amused because it appeared to be headless when it was asleep.

E.M. herself raised a flock of baby quail, but they were devoured by a snake.

So far as E.M. knows, no cubs were ever raised as pets.

An old Kechayi man, Hečač, who caught the falcon, had two fawns which he raised. They came when he called.

One man raised a pet coyote, but "it got too mean" so he took it to the hills and released it.

First Fruit Rites

796 These rites were all called nahala´oša, the term used for a girl's first menses ceremony. At least three were held, for acorns, seeds, and salmon, all having the same name and same essential procedure.

796 222 616 Acorns.--The Nutuwich men knocked down all the acorns, which were gathered and stored, as usual, by Tokelyuwich women; many of the women were, of course, wives of the Nutuwich men. When the correct month arrived,[63] the Nutuwich chief sent word to the Tokelyuwich chief that it was time for the ceremony. This the Tokelyuwich prepared for by grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns of the recent crop, and arranging the food to be served in front of their chief's house. Then the Nutuwich people came. The Tokelyuwich host-chief made a speech about the new food,[64] and his winatums and their wives served the food to the Nutuwich chief and the people with him. Thereafter the Nutuwich people could make use of the new crop, but the Tokelyuwich continued to use nuts from the old crop until the spring salmon ceremony.

There is no association of the Bear Dance with the gathering or first eating of acorns.

Seeds.--In the summer the winatum went about telling people that it was time to gather the seed crop. The Nutuwich people went first and took all they wanted; when they were through, the Tokelyuwich gathered what was still available. The Nutuwich "ate the seeds right away," but when the Tokelyuwich were free to do so is not clear.

226 616 796 Salmon.--When the Pleiades were on the western horizon at dusk it was time to watch for the first salmon. When the Nutuwich chief learned that the run was approaching he sent

[63] E.M. thinks this was November.

[64] On one occasion B.W's wife made the speech.

224 saved, being carried in the stomach and the stomach carried in the skin [by the same man?].
482 At home the deer was hung up, perhaps for one night, the next day [it is butchered?] it is cooked in the ashes. A single deer would be consumed in two days by the average family. Everyone helped skin the animals, and everyone in camp [every household?] was given a piece of meat about "as big as your hand and wrist."

224 Men hunted all the year round; even in winter they would go out all day with their dogs.

231 A few Indians had dogs trained to hunt
224 foxes. These followed the fox whenever they smelled one, and treed it. The master followed with his bow and arrow and shot the beast as it watched the dogs below. The dogs jumped the fox the instant it fell but were immediately beaten off, otherwise the skin would have been torn and the meat bruised. Wildcats were got by the same method. For fox and wildcat but one or two dogs were used at a time.

A small breed of dog, about twelve inches high, was used for hunting rabbits. They were trained to track rabbits to burrows or rock shelters. The owner had a slender stick, three or four feet long, which he ran into the hole until he felt the hiding animal. Then he poked and twisted the stick in its fur, pulling it out. It was killed with a blow on the head. "A man would be gone all day hunting like that," said J.R.

Gray squirrels were abundant. The dogs would pursue these, perhaps catch them, before they got up a tree. The owner was immediately behind to secure the quarry for himself.

These hunting dogs somewhat resembled coyotes: they had long tails, some had long, slightly woolly fur, "coyote color, pretty near yellow." There were also black, white, and spotted dogs. Some had short fur. Some were as high as a man's knee: the rabbit dog was smaller than a fox dog. A hunter would possess both kinds. These pets were fed acorn soup, bones, feet of squirrels, rabbits, and the like, also entrails. They also were permitted to hunt for themselves and ate whatever they caught.

"When a man takes his dog out, the dog knows what he is going to do. He hunts. He watches the animal, but he would hunt whatever he saw first. He would jump anything. The dog knows what he is hunting. They run after anything, these dogs, after they learn what to do, you know. But they can't catch the coyote. They get away every time. Nobody ever ate <u>them</u>." (This, and all hunting information is from J.R.)

Horse Stealing

579 A man named xo'šiñ (M.N.'s father-in-law,
674 said the narrator, M.W.) was the ringleader of

[P. 199 C] Chukchansi

231 Pets.--Bear cubs were not raised by anyone, said J.R. Young eagles were captured in their nests before they could fly. The birds were fed and reared, and were eventually used in the redemption or weeping ceremony.

A man who had a bear for a pet [a living animal or a tutelary "pet" ?] was heard of by M.W., but he had never seen him. He was told that, "if you said 'Bear' to that man, he would always holler." M.W. thought this was due to dreaming.

MOURNING CEREMONY

769 The accounts of the three informants
184 differ so much that it does not seem wise to combine them to make a single picture of the Mourning Ceremony. Summarizing comments will be made at the end of this section.

769 A terminal mourning ceremony was held a year after a person's death, said N.W. This rite was sponsored by the deceased's relatives. Should there be no actual relatives, probably a very rare situation, there would be no ceremony. On the other hand, a person who dwelled with or had been cared for by an unrelated family would be mourned by that family. If the deceased were an extremely old person, and none of his age mates or parents (sic) were living, the burning of gifts, and even the fire, would be omitted.

The ceremony lasted six days. On the morning of the sixth day, about 2 to 4 a.m., offerings [of baskets and other valuables] were

[P. 220 b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 224 372 [237] The fire fan (ile´ṭ:l, Michahai; tu'ohi´dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

W Y 223 343 Pigeon snaring.---Pigeons (šo´ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ṭi toho´noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ṭi´p:n ma ṭe'e´ niši´, up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša´ was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa´n:s a´tm:n šoni (place down-their pigeon).[160]

W Y 223 231 The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

[160] S.O. said, "You just said 'pa´nam:n' for short, just like slang."

W Y 223 inches in diameter, and attached to the tip of a 6- to 8-foot light pole. The whole thing was called wi čɨt toho´na min šo´ne (pole to-catch its pigeon). The noose was stealthily lowered over the head of a bird and instantly jerked back into the booth. Each victim's neck was wrung. Ten to twelve might be taken at a time. The hunter remained concealed until all the wild birds had left voluntarily. The decoy birds he took home in their cages, the dead birds strung on a stick forced through the loose skin under their necks.

W Y 223 231 The tame pigeons were always kept in their cages (ti min šo´nɨn, house its pigeon's, Michahai; upa´omus ipo´kuɨk, basket pet's Waksachi) (fig. 1 herein). These were barrel-shaped, twined of dogwood (kiče´yu). Cracked acorns and water were fed the birds regularly. Three birds was the limit to a single cage; asked if they ever mated, S.O. said, "He never heard of anybody raising little ones."

W Y [431] The game birds were never sold when caught as game, but the live decoys were sold; more often, said S.O., given away. The game birds were cooked unplucked, either boiled in a pot (never in a basket) or roasted in hot ashes. The feathers were never saved.

W Y 423 825 The man who built a pigeon booth owned it. No charge was made to another who used it, but the owner's permission was necessary. There were three of these at Tušao, owned by Isham Bill, Bill Tyner, and S.O.'s father. Asked how this was compatible with his father's lineage totem and occupation (winatum), S.O. said that "it didn't matter, that his father never ate the pigeons nor did he himself; he just had that place." One suspects that payment of some kind was involved, perhaps indirectly, for such an owner. It is possible that the winatum's responsibility of seeing food provided on official occasions motivated the ownership. S.O. added, as though possibly condoning the catching and killing of his poša, "When Eagle made

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 221 b] Western Mono NS 25

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Fig. 1. Pigeon cage. (Schematic drawing after specimen in Kern County Historical Society Museum.)

W [P. 221C] Western Mono NS25
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423 things he gave pigeons to Indians, all over; it
825 is the same everywhere. They were told to go to that salt water at Tušao."

The pigeon blind in the tree functioned in
W the same manner as that on the ground. It was
Y a more crude affair, made of any leafy branches
223 tied up in the tree in whatever way best suited
343 conditions. A beam to sit on was the main consideration. The tree chosen was one in which pigeons were known to roost. The hunter took several of the noose-poles with him and laid them out in various directions in the branches around him. As the birds came to roost at dusk, they were snared with the poles most conveniently placed. A common practice of men who owned no caged pigeons was to climb such a tree before dawn, get one bird, and then use it as a decoy from the booth on the ground.

The Waksachi built pigeon booths similar to that described for the Michahai (B.O.). The decoys were always six in number, let out in three pairs. In place of a decoy a simple noose twitch-trap was sometimes set up over the feeding platform, but this method never got more than one bird a day and was used only by a man who lacked decoys.

W Some people kept doves as pets (mapuk) as
Y well as for decoys. In either case they were
231 lodged in cages (mapuwu´na) like the Michahai
825 pigeon cages and tamed by the following method. The bird was held between the knees and a few tail feathers pulled out. The feathers were set afire and the bird held, by the feet, head down, in the smoke for several minutes. Then it was given a little acorn meal to eat, which it promptly vomited. "Then that bird was always tame" (B.O.).

Y The pigeon booth is reported by Kroeber
223 for "Southern Foothill Yokuts" (presumably
343 Yaudanchi).[161]

[161] Handbook, 529, pl. 46. He informs me that he there saw a single decoy used.

W Y 285 192 It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li ʻh ʻ·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti ʻʼi ʻsi na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

W Y 285 192 415

Coiled ware.---1. o ʻsa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a ʻmat (Michahai), kača ʻo (Wukchumni), a ʻpo (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

W Y [292 482]

2a. pi ʻkwo[1] (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a ʻoki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo ʻto (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

W Y [524]

5. tai ʻwan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.---6. po· ʻno (Michahai), tapono ʻči (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka ʻti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, S.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uti ʻʼi (Michahai).

W Y [492]

7. a ʻnaš (Michahai), wo· ʻno (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to ʻhod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča ʻphai (Michahai), ta ʻmyuk (Wukchumni), ta ʻneho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

W Y [231]

9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 232 a] Western Mono NS25

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Redemption of Totem Animals, Aerie Ownership

Ritualistic payment was tendered for the killing of eagles, falcons, bears, and occasionally coyotes.

Eagle.---Eagles were not often killed although, according to both B.O. and S.O., it was not thought dangerous to do so, nor was it necessary to have permission from the chief if the eagle were a stray one. An eagle known to belong to a chief's aerie would not be killed. However, said S.O., "When a man killed an eagle, he took it to a chief -- Eagle is chief." The chief then sent out word, and everyone, regardless of his poša, came to make a payment to the hunter. The chief contributed a larger sum than the rest, but it was he who came into possession of the bird and kept or sold its valuable parts. The head, skin, and leg bones had ceremonial uses as talismans of supernatural power: the head as it was, the skin for its down, and the bones for whistles [sic]. Wing feathers were used on arrows. (The same parts of falcons were similarly used.) When the chief resold these items, he made a slight profit. Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that neither Michahai nor Waksachi honored the carcass with a special burial in earth or water.

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Live eagles and falcons were the subject of redemption more often than were dead specimens. B.O. said people would get young eagles to rear in order to sell them eventually to chiefs. "When a chief heard of a person having one somewhere he would send his winatum to have it brought over." As soon as the day of its arrival was known, the chief ordered all the people with Eagle ibuk (poša, totem) to assemble. They came dressed in their best, stood in a long line, and danced while the eagle was held by its owner. A blanket was then put on the ground and the bird set upon it. The chief who was redeeming the bird had a large basket of beads and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket or other valuables. The other people filed past the bird, each one throwing down a handful of beads on the blanket. Finally the chief put down his basket of beads and gifts and took up the bird saying, "That is my ibuk." The former owner then took up his pay. There was no weeping.

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The eagle was then kept "by the chief and his family as long as it wanted to stay." It was fed fresh raw meat daily. B.O.'s father had one: it would go off each year and come back for a while; finally it never returned.

For the same procedure with living birds, S.O. stated that "when the birds were grown they were given [sic] to some neighboring chief, like Wukchumni or anywhere." When the owner was ready to dispose of his bird, he sent his winatum to notify the chief whom he had determined upon as the recipient. If the offer was

accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, K·lmi šət, winatum, and the chief, Pao'·č, at Tušao.

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'·č was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, K·lmišət, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and K·lmišət stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'·č reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'·č was helped by all his ain·č." Then the old man would jerk the rope and K·lmišət would help hoist him up.

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'·č and K·lmišət "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini', "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Bear---Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear (i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member) learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

[169] The identification of tua´kini' is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket, and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw money on the blanket as they filed by. However, the Bear headman received only the paws or claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown away. The hunter himself still retained the bearskin which he might give, but could not sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear headman through the redemption process. In either case the hunter kept the carcass, the meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they were never given a ritual redemption as were young eagles. They could be sold to anyone, usually westward to plains people. B.O. himself once had a little cub which he "took away off and turned loose when he was big enough to look after himself."

Coyote---Coyotes were rarely killed. But a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a Coyote lineage, and some money would be given in return The skin might be used for a Coyote clown costume, but was not valued otherwise. Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular practice and, possibly because of its rarity as a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all totemic animals except the bear cubs, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

There were no definite observances or proscriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate only soft food as a matter of personal preference. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as pounding acorns, during the last months. If the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

A pregnant woman was referred to as ča·n witːp nuš (will be baby (?)), and the act of giving birth was called axː ʻdiši. The woman remained in her own house where she lay on her back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two stakes to which she clung were driven into the ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

BLACKBERRY JAM

262 137 222 Many persons, including those who have lived near San Joaquin Valley Indians, appear skeptical when told that blackberry jam was a common dish among those peoples. Wild blackberry vines covered the river bottoms in patches several acres in extent and climbed many yards above the ground. I have been informed by Kaweah River pioneers that single primeval blackberry thickets covered as much as five acres and climbed about through the willows so that a mounted man could ride under them. They were favorite hiding places for grizzly bears, so I have been told by aged Yokuts Indian women, and [231] it was customary to take dogs into a thicket when beginning to pick berries. Said *Ah-kah-dih'-nim,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "The dogs chewed the bear's hind legs while we ran to camp."

262 222 The berries are ripe during the month of June. Along the Kaweah, shortly after it leaves the foothills, and at one or two other places where the vines have not been killed by burning, they are still loaded with ripe berries at that time.

The wild blackberry is not unlike the tame one. It is smaller and a little sharper in taste. But when they are completely ripened the berries are as sweet as tame berries and of much better flavor. This wild blackberry was an important staple among the Yokuts Indians, who called it *mah-mid.*

262 222 415 Descriptions of the gathering and curing of these berries still form one of the most interesting accounts of Yokuts food preparation. Two utensils, or containers, are utilized in gathering berries. The first container is an acorn shaped basket about six inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches in depth. It is rounded at the bottom and fitted with a deer-skin handle much like the bail of a bucket. The Indians call this basket [482] *chaw'-much.* It is suspended from the neck, and is one of the most convenient utensils used by the Indians, as it leaves both hands free for gathering berries.

262 222 [412] In addition to the chawmuch, a hooked stick is used in pulling the blackberry vines within the reach of the worker, and in forcing them apart so that berries underneath may be reached. The chawmuch having been filled, it is emptied into a shallow wicker basket, or colander, called *tah'-meuk.*

After the tahmeuk is filled it is emptied into the burden basket which is then carried to the rancheria in much the same

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we called *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats. That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove.

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout called *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deerskin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule. Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the cape in place.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

754 clicking sound like someone filliping his finger nail against his forehead. At the same instant the mother fell down; blood ran from her nose; she remained unconscious for several minutes. Her relatives picked her up and put her in the wagon. [755] They all drove over to Kingston. Teokonik treated Josie's mother by cutting the skin between her eyebrows. He sucked out a finger-nail clipping. It was Teokonik who had "shot" it into her from a long way off while he was at Piedra, on Kings river. They paid him $20 for his services.

[756] Teokonik was considered a very fine doctor because he could cure without cutting. Once a man died after Teokonik had treated him and he was accused of killing his patient. But Josie believes someone else must have killed him. Teokonik was put in jail at Hanford for this, and on another occasion at Visalia. Bob Tista intervened for him both times. On the first occasion the man who had poisoned Teokonik's patient ran away and was later caught, so the doctor was exonerated.

Another Choinimni doctor caused Josie herself to fall ill:

[231] About twenty years ago Josie was up in the Kaweah river foothills shearing sheep. There too was a Choinimni doctor named Teukpa. He and Josie talked to each other occasionally; later he asked her to sleep with him. She refused, upon which he became very angry and threatened to make her sick. She told him if he did anything to her she would kill him. That night they were playing the hand game with several others. Teukpa got mad because Josie was winning. He had his magic talisman wrapped in a handkerchief in his pocket. He pulled out the bundle and struck Josie across the eyes with it. She immediately had a [755] headache and nose bleed. Haitcatca, a man with some supernatural power, was there. He cut, sucked, and cured Josie. He sucked out only blood. He told her she would be blind some day, but she still sees very well. (The scars from this, and no doubt other cuttings, are plainly visible on her forehead.)

Teukpa was finally poisoned. If he had been a really powerful doctor he could have cured himself. Nowadays people will pay anybody who is hard up, and willing to do it, to poison undesirable persons like Teukpa: "They just do it to see if he is mets ăĭţu (strong doctor)."

A Nutunutu (Y) shaman who terrorized the Indians about Tulare lake killed Josie's cousin:

This story concerns Pokoi'ik, Motsa's friend.[87] Josie had a daughter, Mukuyik, nine or ten years old. One day she developed a severe pain in her right side; she had convulsions and died the next day. Later Josie learned from an old man that she had been killed by Pokoi'ik. This shaman was young and wanted to prove his power. Josie's husband had been working up at Kingston where Pokoi'ik lived. The shaman asked him for some money. He refused, saying that he had no money, that Josie had it all. This was true for the couple had been working hard and saved all they could. But Pokoi'ik got mad. He told this old man, "They'll dig up their money when their girl gets sick." He didn't go to Josie to ask for the money but just made Mukuyik sick. He killed her just to prove that he was able to. Said Josie, "Doctors often did this; they just like to try it like we'd try anything."

Pokoi'ik became more malicious as his power increased, and people feared him more. Once Josie's brother, Wepis, and her cousin went up to a fandango

[87] See anecdote, p. 405.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. Unlike the Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the rattlesnake (*te'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *kaï'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *kaï'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintūn language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's claws. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

exercises were conducted with more energy and with fuller choruses than they would have been after the Indians had become exhausted. 769

When Tueh, the Indian interpreter, and myself entered the camp it was already an hour after nightfall, but there were yet no indications of a beginning of the dark orgies that were to be enacted. We found about three hundred Indians assembled, in a place remote from any American habitations, and encamped in light, open booths of brushwood, running around three sides of a spacious quadrangle. This quadrangle had been swept and beaten smooth for a dancing-floor, and near one of the inside corners there was a small, circular embankment, like a circus-ring, with the sacred fire brightly burning in the center. Kolomusnim and his relatives, the chief mourners, occupied the corner-booths near this ring, and near by was Sloknich, the head-chief of the Chukchansi, by whose authority this assembly had been convened. Here and there a fire burned with a staggering, sleepy blaze just outside the quadrangle, faintly glimmering through the booths; at intervals an Indian moved stealthily across the half-illuminated space within; while every few minutes the atmosphere was rendered discordant and hideous, as indeed the whole night was, during the most solemn passages, by the yelping, snarling, and fighting of the hordes of dogs. [23]

For fully half an hour we slowly sauntered and loitered about the quadrangle, conversing in undertones, but still nothing occurred to break the somber silence, save the ever-recurring scurries of yelps from the accursed dogs. Now and then an Indian slowly passed across and sat down on the circular embankment, while others in silence occasionally fed the sacred fire. But at last, from Kolomusnim's quarter, there came up a long, wild, haunting wail, in a woman's voice. After a few minutes it was repeated. Soon another joined in, then another, and another, slowly, very slowly, until the whole quarter was united in an eldritch, dirge-like, dismal chorus. After about half an hour it ceased, as slowly as it began; and again there was profound, death-like silence; and again it was broken by the ever-renewed janglings of the dogs.

Some time again elapsed before any further movement was made, and then Sloknich, a little, old man, but straight as an arrow, with a sharp face